In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-giki, who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships. "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- Analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

137 311 [417] settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees. Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact because of their flexible loose weave.

137 133 185 [098] [099] [193] The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realisation of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

824 313 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island, even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regardod as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

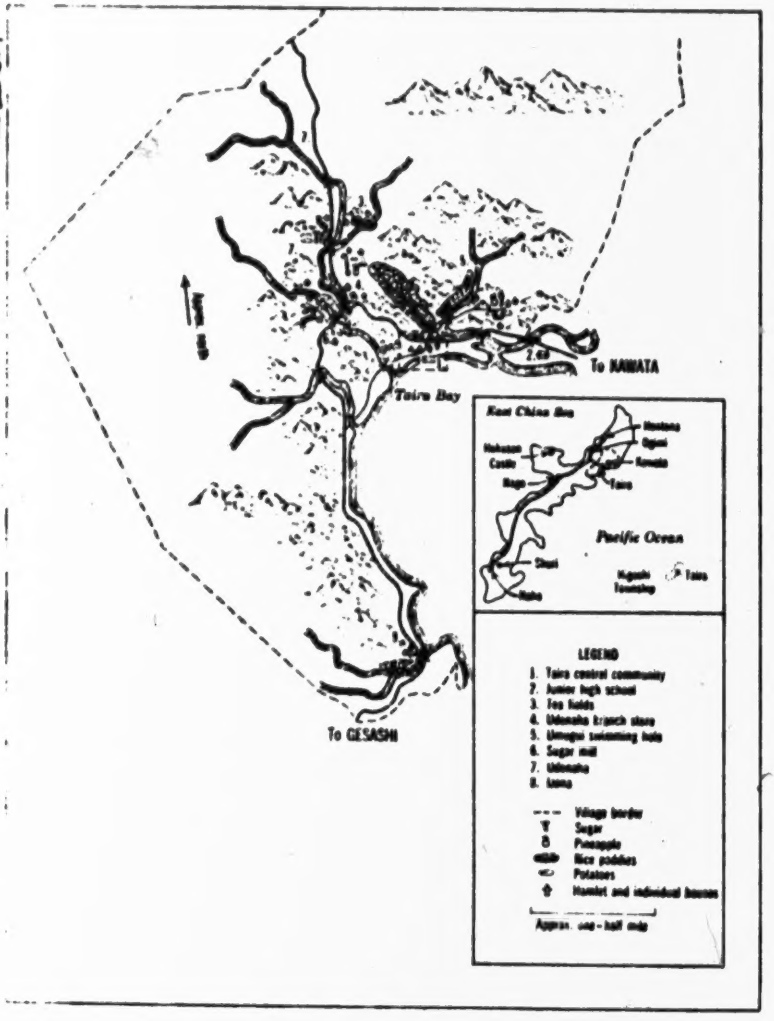
Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of



Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles